# EARTH FIRST!

SPECIAL EDITION June 16, 1989


The Empire Strikes Back

# FBI ATTACKS EARTH FIRST! FOREMAN, MILLETT, 2 OTHERS ARRESTED

By Dale S. Turner

***Standard Disclaimer***

*All of the information in this article is either third-hand hearsay or was gleaned from published newspaper accounts. It has only a vague and gossipy connection with the facts of the case, and therefore has no bearing on or utility for any legal actions related to the events described.*

At about 8:15 p.m. on Tuesday, May 30, an FBI agent shot a brilliant flare into the desert night sky, giving light to three people standing at the base of a power line tower. Some 50 FBI agents moved in and quickly arrested Mark Davis and Marc Baker, both activists from Prescott, Arizona. The third, Peg Millett, took off through the brush and disappeared, despite pursuit by agents on foot, agents on horseback, agents with bloodhounds, and agents in two helicopters equipped with infrared and night-vision equipment. She reached a highway about one and a half miles away and hitchhiked her way back to Prescott, where she was arrested the next day at the Planned Parenthood clinic, her usual place of employment. None of three were armed when they were arrested.

At 7 a.m. on Wednesday, three FBI agents wearing body armor pounded on the front door of Dave Foreman and Nancy Morton, in Tucson. With guns drawn, they pushed past Nancy when she opened the door and ran straight to the bedroom where Dave was still asleep. Waking him at gunpoint, they allowed him to pull on only a pair of shorts and then took him away in handcuffs.

At about the same time, agents served subpoenas to and questioned at least 15 other Americans in Arizona, Montana, Nevada, and Colorado.

On Friday of that week, a Federal magistrate released Foreman on $50,000 bond. Foreman was ordered not to leave Pima County (the Tucson area) and to give up any weapons he might own. Baker, Davis, and Millett are to be held in prison, without bail, until their trial. The federal prosecutor considers them a threat to society.

If convicted on the charges of Destruction of an Energy Facility, Destruction of Government Property, Destruction of Property Which Affects Interstate Commerce, and Conspiracy, Baker, Davis, and Millett could each be sentenced to 35 years and fined $80,000. Foreman could face five years in prison and a $10,000 fine on charges of Conspiracy to Destroy an Energy Facility.

**The Basic Facts**

The FBI has been investigating Earth First! and other environmental activists for at least three years, using covert tactics and agents provocateur to set up illegal activities involving as many people as possible. They targeted the perceived leaders of the Earth First! movement, with the clear intent of both eliminating the "masterminds" within environmental circles and of discrediting the whole environmental movement. They worked to build a large web of conspiracy, spending $2 million in the process, but were forced to expose their operation before all the pieces were in place.

The FBI claims it began these operations after power lines leading to the Palo Verde nuclear plant were damaged in May 1986. According to FBI spokesmen at a large press conference held the day after the four arrests, further investigations focused on: the cutting of a pylon supporting the cable chairlift at Fairfield Snowbowl ski resort in Flagstaff in October 1987, the cutting of power line poles leading to the Hermit, Pine Nut, and Canyon uranium mines near the Grand Canyon in September 1988, and the cutting of the main support pylon of the chairlift at Fairfield Snowbowl in October 1988.

The Fairfield Snowbowl has been subject to much controversy for its sprawling development of a sensitive alpine area in the San Francisco Mountains, just north of Flagstaff. The peaks (and now ski runs) are also sacred ground for the Navajo and Hopi people.

The three mines are part of a huge uranium mining boom on both sides of the Grand Canyon, which has been described in numerous environmental publications, including the *Earth First! Journal* (see especially the Litha, 1987, edition).

The Fairfield Snowbowl and uranium mine actions were claimed by a group calling itself the Ev Mecham Eco-Terrorist International Conspiracy, or EMETIC. Evan Mecham, Arizona's radical right-wing governor who was impeached last year, denied any connection with the group. "I haven't the foggiest idea of what they're up to or who they are or anything else," Mecham told the *Los Angeles Times*.

No claim was ever made linking these three events with the earlier Palo Verde incident.

In January of 1988, the FBI assigned several agents full-time to infiltrate Earth First! circles. They set up an agent named, or at least known as, Mike Tait with a one-man remodeling business in Prescott (he claimed to be representing a man in the East who was looking to buy and remodel houses in Arizona). He was supervised by agent Lori Bailey, who only appeared at one EF! event (so far as we know).

Tait presented himself as a friendly, quiet, "redneck for wilderness" with an interest in radical action. He never drank, claiming to be an ex-alcoholic, but attended a number of EF! social events. He claimed to have a learning disability, with only limited reading and writing skills, and used that to gain sympathy from several activists. He became a close friend and confidant of Peg Millett, taking her out dancing on a number of occasions.

Millett has been, in recent years, an increasingly visible and inspirational figure in the Earth First! movement. She's taken a role as a singer and a speaker on the Earth First! Speakers Bureau, and has taken an active role with the Redneck Women's Caucus.

Through Millett, Tait got to know Mark Davis, a deeply committed anti-nuclear activist in Prescott. According to agent Bailey's courtroom testimony, Tait joined Davis in discussions about how to get rid of various nuclear facilities and other large environmentally damaging installations (such as Glen Canyon Dam).

From his association with Davis, it appears that Tait got to know Marc Baker, a soft-spoken and well-respected biologist in Prescott.

Neither Davis nor Baker were active in Earth First! circles, and both were unknown by Tucson activists. Neither of them even subscribed to the *Earth First! Journal*. Davis was known only as a leader in the Prescott-area group, Yavapai Earthnet.

Through Millett, Tait also became a frequent visitor to Tucson, getting friendly with EF!ers who lived at and visited the *EF! Journal* office.

Tait attended last summer's Round River Rendezvous in the Okanogan National Forest in Washington, and was present throughout the demonstration afterward at the forest headquarters. He attended workshops and campfires there, making connections such as signing on a list to get current updates from the Wolf Action Network about the British Columbia wolf campaign.

While driving down the mountain from the Rendezvous to the demo with others in his car, he frequently stopped to remove survey flagging from trees along the road, encouraging Millett and the others to join him. At the demonstration itself, he kept his distance from most of the action, getting in close only for the decision-making circles.

During Labor Day weekend last year, Tait attended the regional EF! gathering on Arizona's Mount Graham, where EF! has been actively opposing an environmentally devastating observatory project. According to other attendees, Tait showed up with a couple of trees in pots and was vociferous about wanting to plant them in the road, an illegal act. EF! activists had previously discussed closing and replanting some old logging roads that the U.S. Fish & Wildlife Service have recommended be closed, but which have been maintained to ease construction of the observatory complex. Because it was illegal and because the trees he had with him were of some non-native species (probably Scotch pine), the group decided Tait's plan was a bad idea, though he pushed hard for it.

During that weekend, Tait helped hang a banner on a maintenance shed that was illegally in place at the proposed observatory site. He also joined hands with the 17 EF!ers gathered there to pledge his body in the mountain's defense.

According to the FBI, in December and January of 1988 Tait joined Davis and Millett in a plan to do simultaneous actions at the Palo Verde nuclear power plant in Arizona, the Diablo Canyon nuclear power plant in California, and the Rocky Flats nuclear weapons facility in Colorado. They and others would cut down power-line towers leading out of the facilities, making a large and expensive statement.

In March of this year, Tait supposedly arranged for Davis to get some money from Foreman. Foreman discouraged them from making any rash actions, while agreeing to donate $580 to support Davis in his Prescott-area activism.

Tait also worked to find others who might participate in the California and Colorado actions. He asked several Tucson EF!ers to put him in touch with monkeywrenchers in those states, acts that would open the intermediaries to conspiracy charges.

The FBI claims that at some point, Davis decided to practice his technique on an easier target, the power line leading to a pumping plant along the Central Arizona Project (a $3 billion pork-barrel project to carry Colorado River water uphill and across 300 miles of desert to sustain the lawns and fountains of Phoenix and Tucson). He focused on a tower at the apex of a turn, where the line tension would pull over the tower after its legs were cut. Tait tried to talk him out of it, arguing that it would be better to hold out for the bigger assault (which would, of course, involve many more people).

Tait was unable to dissuade him, and on May 30 he traveled with Davis, Millett, and Baker to the site, where four dozen federal agents lay in wait.

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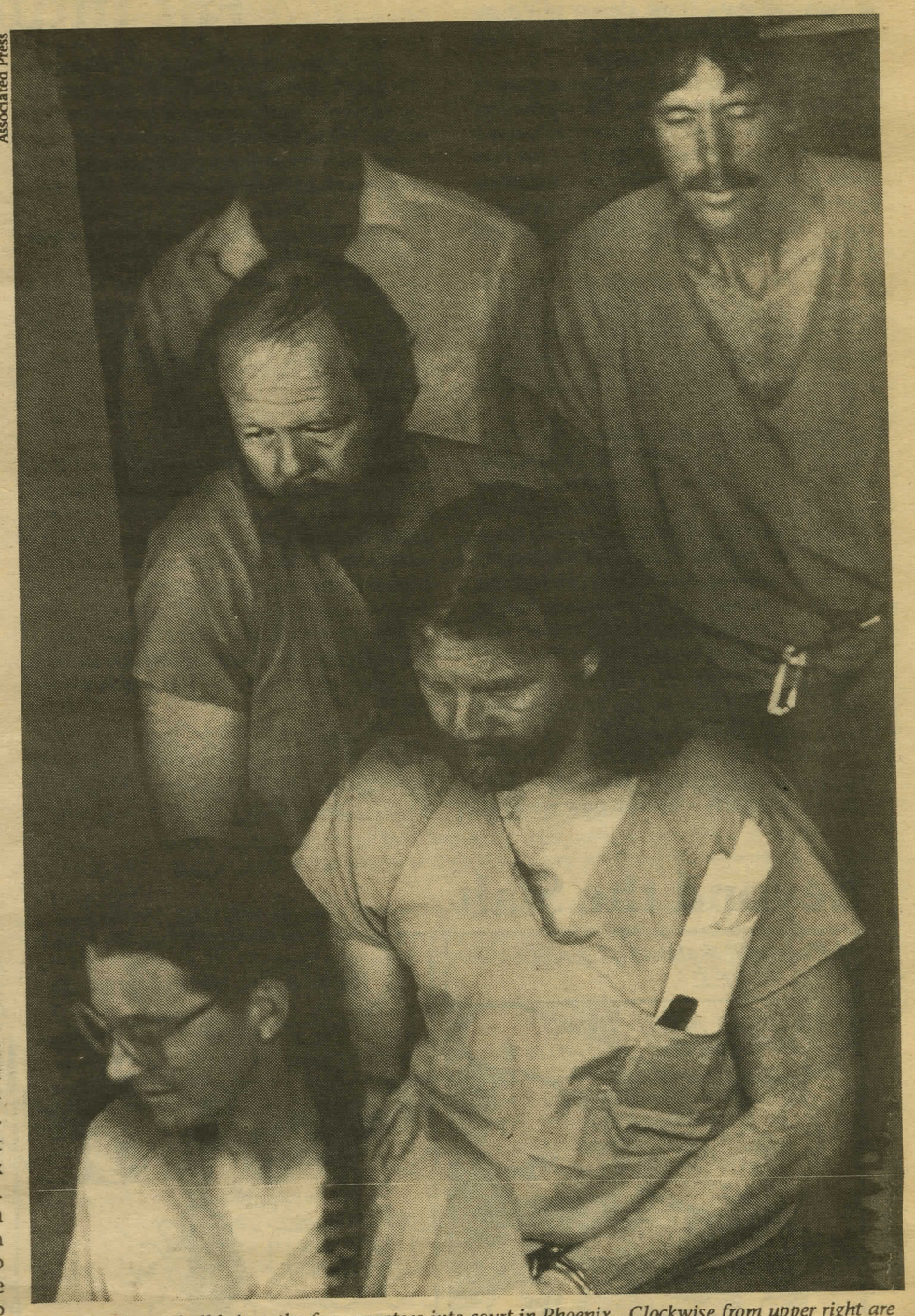
Associated Press



*A federal marshall brings the four arrestees into court in Phoenix. Clockwise from upper right are Marc Baker, Mark Davis, Peg Millett, and Dave Foreman.*

# FBI ATTACKS . . .

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**The FBI's Big Victory**

On the afternoon of Wednesday, May 31, the FBI held a large and showy press conference in Phoenix to announce the arrests. Throughout the event, they emphasized the concepts of terrorism and organized crime.

FBI spokesmen claimed that the group was planning to interrupt power lines leading *into* the Palo Verde and Diablo Canyon nuclear facilities. They said such an interruption in power could lead to a nuclear meltdown, and thereby threaten public health and safety. (Later courtroom testimony would reveal discussion of disrupting power lines coming *out* of the facilities.)

David Small, supervisor of an FBI anti-terrorism squad, said his group was involved because terrorism "includes any individual committing criminal acts under federal, state or local laws in furtherance with their political or social goals."

U.S. Attorney Stephen McNamee called the arrests "a significant development in law enforcement." He added that the investigation was still underway and that more arrests were possible.

Coconino County Sheriff Joe Richards, whose office participated in the investigation, provided the only sense of perspective at the event. Richards said he thought the people involved "have a belief that they are doing something in their own way to protect the environment from destruction."

**Courtroom Theatrics**

At the hearing on terms of release, held in Phoenix June 2, Assistant U.S. Attorney Roger Dokken expanded on the theme of terrorism by telling the federal magistrate that Foreman was the ringleader. "Mr. Foreman is the worst of the group," Dokken said. "He sneaks around in the background. He was the financier, the leader, sort of the guru to get all this going. I don't like to use the analogy of a Mafia boss, but they never do anything either. They just send their munchkins out to do it."

The hearing was set up to emphasize the criminality of the accused, with all four brought into the courtroom wearing blue prison pajamas and handcuffs hooked to chains around their waists, escorted by a full entourage of armed guards. The federal marshalls then made a show of unlocking the cuffs and placing the four on a bench. A marshall evicted those sitting in the first row of audience seats, those closest to the arrestees, and proceeded to fill the row with other marshalls and FBI agents.

The first part of the hearing consisted of Dokken insistently telling U.S. Magistrate Morton Sitver about how the group could cause a "China syndrome" event at the Palo Verde nuclear plant, and how their actions clearly interfered with interstate commerce (people from other states ski at the Fairfield Snowbowl).

He also worked to present the worst possible picture of the arrestees' characters. For example, Marc Baker was described as essentially indigent (he is a Ph.D. biologist who works on a contract basis for various studies).

Mike Tait was not present in the court, leaving the FBI to be officially represented by agent Lori Bailey. Dokken and Bailey went through a choreographed routine where he would ask what happened on a certain date, and she would give a summary of all incriminating hearsay she knew about that day. She had not been present during any of the conversations she described, but told with great certainty about plans to "sabotage" and "attack" a variety of targets, and how these actions would disrupt power leading "into" nuclear facilities.

Defense cross-examination of Bailey was handled by Richard Sherman, a hot-shot Los Angeles lawyer who now works as second gun to Jackson, Wyoming, attorney Gerry Spence. Spence is known as the top trial lawyer in the country, best known for having successfully sued Kerr-McGee Oil Co. in 1976 on behalf of the family of the late Karen Silkwood (he won $1.38 million for them). Spence and Sherman are representing Foreman, and are not charging for their work on this case. Millett is represented by a good Phoenix attorney, Michael Black, but the other two are, as yet, represented only by public defenders. (Many people have put many hours into getting better counsel for Davis and Baker, and that should have borne fruit by the time you read this.)

Sherman proceeded to rip Bailey's testimony to shreds, showing that she had only hearsay evidence, poorly remembered at best. He showed that her paraphrasing of conversations twisted the facts of the case, clearly misrepresenting statements by the defendents despite her having access to actual recordings.

The magistrate, however, accepted the prosecution's arguments. Foreman was released on $50,000 unsecured bond, but the other three were ordered held without the option of bail until their trial, which may be October or later. Not incidently, this was the same magistrate who had signed the arrest warrant for Foreman, and thus had been given a biased preparation for the hearing.

A preliminary hearing on the case, intended to find whether the government had sufficient evidence to actually press charges, began on Monday, June 5. The government team repeated the same song and dance, and Sherman again showed that Bailey was an inadequate and unreliable witness. The case was continued for several days, while Sherman sought to put Tait, the only real witness, on the stand. The magistrate went so far as to order Tait to respond, in writing, to written questions from Sherman.

Clearly, the government did not want to bring Tait out of hiding or to let his first-hand account get aired, and two days later they succeeded in getting a federal grand jury to indict the four defendents. That action superceded the role of the preliminary hearing, making an official finding that charges would be pressed.

**Court Battles Continue**

According to FBI testimony, Davis once told Tait that he'd concluded the feds could not convict any cautious monkeywrencher without either an informant or infiltrators. Tait was recording that conversation, along with at least 34 talks he had with various EF!ers. Courtroom testimony has indicated that many other agents were and probably still are involved in the investigation, and presumably some are still undercover.

On Thursday, June 8, sixteen other people were called to appear before the grand jury. These included folk from Prescott and Tucson, as well as Colorado, Montana, and Nevada. They included one of the other "founding fathers" of the Earth First! movement, along with *EF! Journal* editor John Davis, the *Journal's* staff dynamo Nancy Zierenberg, off-road vehicle fighter Rod Mondt, anti-grazing activist Lynn Jacobs, and Colorado EF!'s outspoken David Lucas. Those people have been told not to discuss the substance of the grand jury's questions, but the makeup of the group clearly indicates a widespread fishing expedition. The grand jury is now trying to cover the ground that Tait's plans might have established, had not events forced his hand.

As I write this on June 7, Baker, Davis, and Millett are entering their official "not guilty" pleas on the charges against them. Foreman is scheduled to plea next week.

The trial (or trials) for the three are now scheduled for August 1. In the meantime, various motions will be filed to get them out of jail. Foreman's case may be separated from the others, and his trial date has not been set.

**Foreman Unrepentant**

At a press conference held after a preliminary hearing, Dave Foreman said "I'm proud to be here facing harrassment by the FBI. I think I'm here because I've been effective in bringing attention to the crisis on this planet." When asked if this would curtail his actions, he said, "My involvement will be curbed when I'm laying in the desert like Ed Abbey."

Gerry Spence, who is not charging for his work on this case, explained that he came to Foreman's defense because this case involves the highest possible principles. "In the Monkey Trial," Spence said, "the great trial of Scopes and Darrow, the issue was about ideas. Here, the issue that we're dealing with is the very survival of the Earth."

# We Are Not

As we've watched the FBI unveil their work over the last few weeks, it's been a revelation to find that the Dark Age of domestic spying and covert disruption never ended. We've seen government techniques developed over generations of social change movements, and discovered new ties to our fore-mothers and -fathers. In recent years, the same techniques were used against the sanctuary movement, the civil rights movement, and the anti-war movement, among others. Many of them were also used against early generations of labor organizers, before the labor movement became an arm of Business.

For their campaign, the FBI launched a three-pronged attack on Earth First! intended to: decapitate the movement by removing or intimidating its leaders, tie up group energy in defensive activities, and discredit the movement in the opinions of the public and the media.

For the first prong, they clearly targeted Dave Foreman and others heavily involved with the *Earth First! Journal*. Foreman has been an obvious target, as both the author of **Ecodefense: A Strategic Guide to Monkeywrenching** and as one of the movement's most effective speakers. Foreman has been particularly outspoken in the last year on the subject of Arizona's Mt. Graham, an issue where Earth First! has clearly impeded a major development project. Expecting such an attack, Foreman has been careful and legal for years. Whether he was careful and legal enough to avoid a concerted effort at entrapment remains to be seen.

The FBI clearly thinks in hierarchical terms. Foreman has been repeatedly referred to as the "leader", the "guru", and the "chief" of Earth First! They speak of the *Earth First! Journal* office as "the Earth First! headquarters" and consider other EF! activists as Foreman's "munchkins". By attacking Foreman, Millett, John Davis, Lynn Jacobs, and a handful of other highly visible individuals, they are trying to remove the "head" of the "organization".

Fortunately, they do not understand the nature of Earth First! as a movement. While some people speak more often in public and maintain a more visible presence,

# Wild Rockies EF! Faces FBI Intimidation

Just before and during the recent events in Arizona, Wild Rockies Earth First! found themselves subject to federal police harrassment. While none have been arrested, the group has been dealing with infiltrators, bugs, property seizures, and FBI questioning.

On May 11, EF!ers in Missoula, Montana, learned from the paper of a tree-spiking warning sent to the Clearwater National Forest, southwest of Missoula. The next day, the Forest Service confirmed the spiking, and the timber industry started a reward fund.

Two days later, FBI and FS agents staged a raid on the house of Wild Rockies EF! contact Jake Jagoff. Several EF!ers live there, and it has been the central meeting place for EF! activities in the area, including sign-painting parties and a recent tree-climbing workshop. During their extensive search, federal agents took photo albums, personal diaries, climbing gear, and computer disks.

Police returned several days later with a search warrant for shoes, apparently looking to match tracks left near the spiked timber sale.

A number of people, some very marginal to the EF! group, have been called in for questioning. The FBI has been asking about names, aliases, who was where and when. They were particularly interested in people who had contact with Peg Millett when she was in Missoula this April.

Based on what was siezed and the questions being asked, Missoula EF!ers believe they've had at least one government informant in their midst for some time.

They know with certainty that for some months their public events have been subject to FBI surveillance. Gatherings have been photographed and videotaped, and police have followed people away from demonstrations. They've even found listening devices in the bushes at a demonstration.

Not incidentally, the tree spiking and search and seizure came about a week before Missoula's "Cowboy and Logger Day", a major forum for Montana Congressman Ron Marlenee. Marlenee will soon lose his congressional seat in a redistricting process, and is working to build support from the timber and ranching industries. The extensive news coverage given to the spiking and raid offered him a context for his standard combative line. "Save Montana's economy, spike an Earth First!er" he said. "When we get done with the environmentalists, they're going to look like a bunch of trampled horse dung."

— DT


## EARTH FIRST!
## Special Edition
## June 16, 1989

This special issue of ***Earth First! The Radical Environmental Journal*** was written and published by by the staff and friends of the *Earth First! Journal*, an independently owned newspaper within the broad Earth First! movement. It is not the "official newsletter" of the Earth First! movement. Entire contents are copyrighted 1989, but we are pleased to allow reprinting if credit is given. Art and photographs are copyrighted by the individual artist or photographer and permission to use must be received from them.

*Earth First!* is a forum for the no-compromise environmental movement. Responsibility rests with the individual authors and correspondents. The contents do not necessarily represent the viewpoint of this newspaper, the Earth First! movement, local Earth First! groups or individual Earth First!ers.

Although we do not accept the authority of the hierarchical state, nothing herein is intended to run us afoul of its police power. *Agents provocateurs* will be dealt with by the Grizzly Defense League on the Mirror Plateau.

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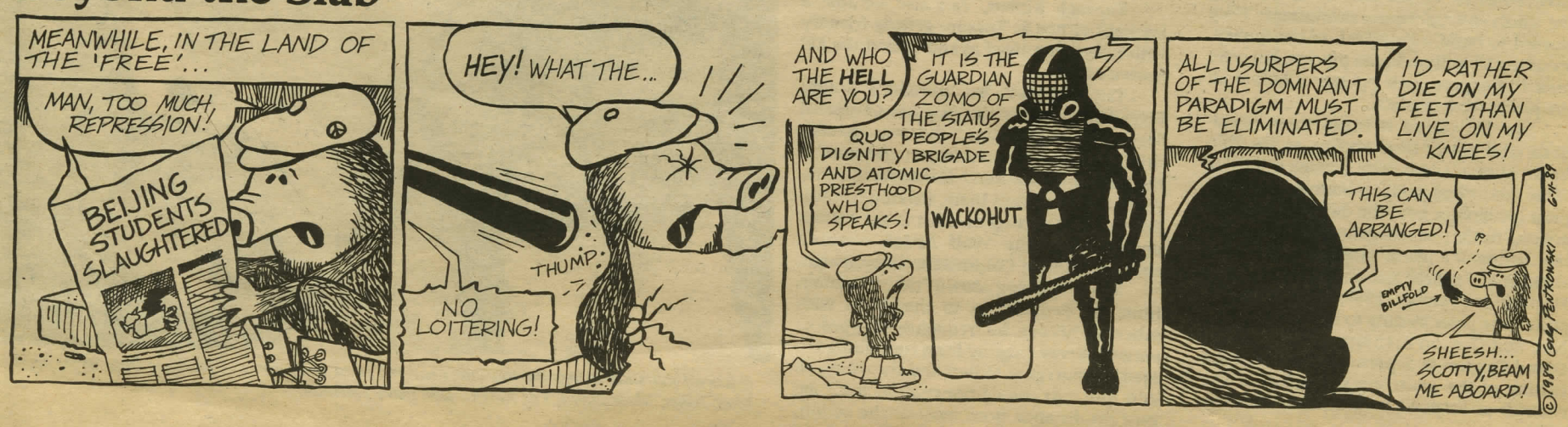
For subscriptions, merchandise orders, donations, inquiries, and general correspondence, send to: Earth First!, POB 5871, Tucson, AZ 85703. Phone: (602) 622-1371.


# Beyond the Slab



# Alone In This

Earth First! is not a structured organization. What we do, as a tribe of thousands, is what we are. To lose Foreman would be a loss, because he's good at what he does. But it doesn't mean a thing for the health or activity of the tribe.

In the process of taking legal action against those folk, the FBI clearly intends to tie up the energy of the "organization" in court battles and support for same. They have succeeded in tying up the phone lines of the *Journal*, and the personal energy of about eight people. Aside from that, Earth First! carries on, with (to name just a few things) demonstrations in Missoula, tree occupations in the redwoods, and people locked to bulldozers outside San Diego to (successfully) prevent a new road into the mountains.

A more successful and insidious drain on the movement's energy is the effect of suspicion and fear. We've already seen some whispering and finger-pointing, with old-timers wondering about newcomers and nobody sure of what they could safely say to a group. Some of this will probably fade with time, but this could be the most lasting effect of the attack.

Major demonstrations and other actions by EF!ers nationwide have sparked support from the public, and often get substantial coverage by the news media. To discredit the movement and diminish our effectiveness, the FBI has tried hard to paint Earth First! with the tar brush of "terrorism", a major buzzword these days. David Small, supervisor of an FBI anti-terrorism squad, said his group was involved because terrorism "includes any individual committing criminal acts under federal, state or local laws in furtherance with their political or social goals."

Consider the implications of that statement. That makes Martin Luther King a terrorist, and likewise Thomas Jefferson. That makes the Boston Tea Party the quintessential terrorist gang action.

That makes blocking a bulldozer into a felony offense, while the chairman of Exxon, because he supports the dominant social paradigm, walks free.

— Dale Turner

## Mike Tait
## FBI Undercover Agent

These are the best photos currently available of FBI infiltrator "Mike Tait." In looking over all the photos we could find of him, it seems he always kept his "Arizona Feeds" cap pulled down low on his face, and generally was looking away from every camera present. Among EF!ers, only Peg Millett had good close-up photos of him, and the FBI took them all when they raided her house after her arrest.

At right, he walks by a banner on Mt. Graham. Below, he stands immediately behind Peg at last summer's Okanogan National Forest demonstration.

Tait is about 6'1", slim-waisted but with broad shoulders and muscular arms. He regularly wore a cap, western-style shirts, jeans, a leather belt with a rodeo belt buckle, and pointy-toed cowboy boots. He had a salt-and-pepper beard and mustache, close-trimmed, and short, thinning, sandy blonde hair with a lot of gray in it.

If you ever talked with this man, or if he appears in any photos you may have, please contact the *Earth First! Journal* office (602-622-1371).

Arizona Daily Star

# Legal Defense Fund Needs Your Contributions

Did you think that we could so much as *talk* about monkeywrenching, without the might of the industrial state descending upon us eventually? Well, it's happened, and the time to pull together is now. We've made the big leagues. The agents provocateurs are among us, trying to discredit our campaign for the health of the Earth. And the recent arrests have all the makings of major political show trials.

Unfortunately, the big leagues cost big bucks. A media-saturated show trial can easily eat up hundreds of thousands of dollars in defense costs. The Legal Defense Fund has been set up to aid the Arizona Four with the costs of their defense, and contributions started pouring in a few days after the arrests. Send whatever you can afford to LDF, POB 4666, Salem, OR 97302. Your contribution will be gratefully acknowledged, and sent where it is most needed.

Soon we will be forming an ad hoc LDF committee, to help decide policy questions about how to solicit and distribute funds. In the meantime, checks will go out primarily on the basis of need, and overhead will be kept to an absolute minimum.

We expect that the LDF will turn into a permanent fund, as the forces of industrialism lower the boom on more and more ecodefenders. Contributions in excess of the immediate needs of the Arizona Four will be retained for that purpose.

If you're looking for a tax shelter, you'd better send your money elsewhere. IRS regulations allow no tax write-offs for contributions to defense of criminal charges. But if you want to help keep your fellow ecodefenders out of the pokey, the LDF needs your support. Call me at (503) 588-8659 afternoons or evenings if you have questions.

— Daniel Conner
Attorney at Law
Trustee, LDF

# PROTEST!

•Besides the issue of planetary survival, this FBI infiltration and frame-up calls into focus basic questions of justice and civil liberties. Many media accounts have accepted the FBI version of the case at face value and have repeated outrageous falsehoods about Earth First!. Your letters to the editor of newspapers and magazines responding to such articles are vital. Point out in letters to the editor that the real issues are:

√ the destruction of Earth's biodiversity; and
√ the miscarriage of justice and stifling of dissent.

You also may wish to correct misconceptions about Earth First! that appear in the media such as claims that Dave Foreman is "in charge" of Earth First! and that defense of life on Earth is "terrorism."

In addition, we need to let our representatives in government know that we, as citizens, will not tolerate the FBI setting-up and framing Americans. After the excesses committed by J. Edgar Hoover and Richard Nixon, the FBI was reined in. Now it is being permitted to destroy the civil liberties and privacy of Americans once again. Unless we want to see our nation drift inexorably to a police state, we must oppose such gestapo tactics as the FBI has used in this case. Write letters of protest to:

√ Your United States Senators (US Senate, Washington, DC 20510);
√ Your member of Congress (House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515);
√ The Attorney General (Department of Justice, Constitution Ave and 10th St NW, Washington, DC 20530);
√ President George Bush (White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave NW, Washington, DC 20500).

Thanks for your immediate action!

## Keep On Keeping On
## or
## Environmental Activism Ain't Illegal Yet

by Myra Mishkin

Well, it's been a tough year so far. Cactus Ed's become a turkey vulture and the FBI's busted a much-loved, ass-kicking woman; a guy who thinks he's a warrior for the Earth; some guy who's tall, skinny, quiet, and has a wife and kids; and an older, balding guy who smokes cigars. Haven't I read this story before? Did it have a happy ending or not?

And what do we do while we're waiting for the end of this melodrama? Should we go hide in our little boxes, turn on the teevee, and stop making waves? Should we join the current dominant paradigm and make bucks, get rich, be better than everybody . . . ? Or perhaps we should dedicate all of our time and energy (green or otherwise) to the defense efforts of our targeted compadres. Should we drop our battles for the old growth, for the wild country and the free flowing rivers?

That's what the powers that be hope to accomplish, along with the removal of a few specific irritants. The FBI has a long history of disruption and intimidation of groups that challenge the status quo. The FBI and its corporate bosses will evaluate our activities, meetings and publications for any signs of backing-down resulting from their intimidation tactics. I'm sure that Earth Firstlers, individually and in groups, will be reevaluating their operating procedures, but remember: environmental activism ain't illegal yet in this country.

While the level of repression may be rising, the FBI themselves found it necessary to declare that (contrary to appearances and other statements) they were not targeting the group, Earth First!, only individuals. Let us hold them to that statement and continue to exercise our rights to free speech, free assembly, and freedom to worship as we choose (not the almighty dollar sign). Dave, Peg, Mark, and Marc bid us to carry on the good fight, to save the planet, to stand for what we stand on, to not compromise in defense of Mother Earth.

As I look through the Beltane issue of the *Earth First! Journal*, I see just part of all the important issues and all the good work that is being done. We cannot stop fighting for the old growth, whether it's in the Pacific Northwest, behind the Redwood Curtain, or east of the Mississippi. We cannot abandon endangered species preservation, or our plans for species reintroduction, because Gaia's survival depends upon conservation of wild biodiversity. We've got to keep meeting and congregating as a tribe in our local, regional, and Round River Rendezvous. Let us continue to ponder our philosophical bellybuttons and evolve a new paradigm that subverts the old one. And let's continue to set the fine points of our philosophy with our actions.

As I pound away on these keys, it seems that people are carrying on. There are people sitting in Redwoods, others are blockading roads, and meetings go on across the country. The reasons why we each got involved in the first place are still with us.

Oh yeah, I remember the ending to that story now. And I've heard there's a sequel to that story coming out this Fall. It's called *Hayduke Lives*

# An Open Letter to My Friends

May 20, 1989:

Sitting on the slickrock, I am warmed by the morning sun. To the east, the La Sal Mountains and Arches National Park slip thirty years into the past. I sip a beer and let sunglasses hide my eyes from the eight hundred people around me who are gathered to remember Ed Abbey. We chew our memories like cuds and listen to Lisa Stewart, Ken Sleight, Katie Lee, Chip Rawlins, John DuPuy, Kate Kitchell and Laura Magersky, Wendell Berry, a chamber music trio, Terry Tempest Williams, Doug Peacock, Ann Zwinger, and Barry Lopez.

As I sit and listen, I think of Huck Finn and Tom Sawyer, freshly escaped from Injun Joe's cave, perched high in the rafters of the church listening to their own funeral. Speaker after speaker attests to what fine boys they were, what a loss they are to the community. Nary an eye at the service is dry, as all weep for those brave boys and their terrible fate.

I wish Ed were here to hear these eulogies, to bathe in this boundless love from so many. Why, I ask myself, do we save our finest praise for someone until they can no longer hear it. If we all could only be so fortunate as Tom and Huck to attend our own funerals with functioning ears.

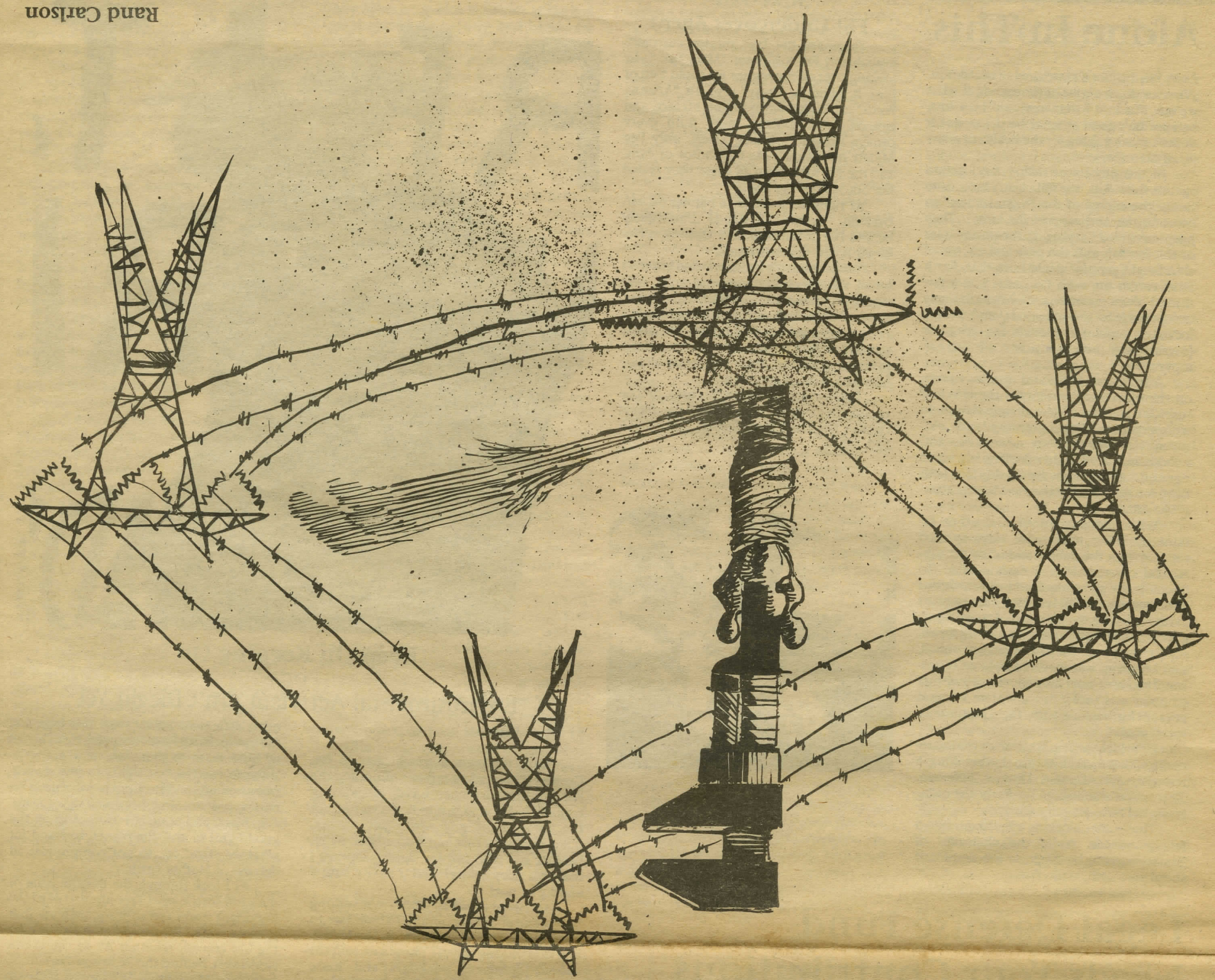
June 2, 1989:

Little did I know, sitting on the slickrock, that in less than two weeks I would hear praise like Tom and Huck heard in the church rafters. After agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation burst into my bedroom, May 31 at 7 am, to arrest me with drawn and cocked .357 magnums, many of you responded with letters of support and offers of houses, cars and stocks for my bond. You are the ones who arranged my release from jail on trumped-up charges, you are the ones responsible for my freedom today which allows me to fight this blatant frame-up.

I am humbled and overwhelmed by your love, friendship and faith in me.

I cannot repay the support you have given me, except to say "Thank you, friends," and to simply state that I will not be intimidated by this brutal attempt to silence me.

— Dave Foreman

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